2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected, 882
as they grew up, to be extremely modest and retiring. Girls, after the age of ten, hardly spoke to a man unless he were a relative and then only to offer him food. If a stranger approached the house, they ran out and hid. Since the women did most of their work in large groups, a girl was always completely surrounded and protected.

Boys also were expected to be retiring. As has been mentioned, they did not speak in the meeting until they were mature men: their part was to do the work in silence. No young man ever interrupted an elder. The following typical conversation took place with a young interpreter who had been asked to question an old informant: "Did you ask him (the informant) thus and so?" "I tried to, but he wanted to talk about something else." In such a situation the young man, though paid to ask questions, was powerless.

The writer has several times been told by Papagos, apropos of working for the Whites: "But our young men cannot go out and approach people as yours do. They are taught to be bashful."

Young people were ceaselessly trained in the moral code (see p. 80), 867
whose principal tenets were industry, fortitude and swiftness of foot. 577
Industry was a woman's virtue, without which no girl could hope to be kept as a wife. Fortitude was a virtue of both sexes and Papago life, which was so frequently on the verge of starvation, brought it to the foreground. The augury on all auspicious occasions was: "You will be hunger-enduring, thirst-enduring, cold-enduring." A man undergoing purification for any reason, voluntarily endured these three hardships and boys were urged to practise them regularly on the Spartan principle that one who was slightly hungry and thirsty all the time would not feel the privation in a crisis. There seems no doubt that the Papago were brave in battle, but aggressive courage is never praised in their poetry. All the emotion is called forth on the theme of enduring hardship.

Speed in running might almost be called the root of all virtue. 868
The life of these nomads in flat, open desert country was based 481
on covering long distances. Women were taught to run with the carrying basket, men ran on the hunt and on the warpath. A young man who could not run was nearly useless. Therefore, running came to mean in Papago parlance the mark of an admirable man and the thing which drew to him the attention of the supernaturals. The following admonition by a father to his sons is on this theme:

"Listen well to this talk. To all of it listen! Look well at my mouth. Keep looking and you will learn. Thus I say to you, that this night, while darkness covers us, you are not to sleep early in the evening. You are to listen to me.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter X

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

882 BETWEEN the ages of eleven and eighteen the Papago child enjoys near-adult status. The change takes place gradually, but beginning about the eleventh year—even before he is physically mature—he begins to put away childish things. The eleven-year-old no longer takes part in active play. Toys of all sorts lose their appeal for him. He ceases to be interested in play that imitates adult pursuits; if he cannot participate in real activities, he wants no make-believe. At this age, girls and boys dissociate themselves from younger children and disdain to join them as equals in play groups; instead they make an obvious effort to identify themselves with adults, particularly those in their early twenties. To a large extent the eleven-year-olds assume the deliberate, unhurried physical bearing of the mature Papago. No longer do they scuffle, run, or skip—those things are for children.

Before the end of the adolescent period, a young person is accorded several rights that anticipate adult status: he is granted more personal freedom, is given a full share of the family work to do, is sometimes intrusted with money to do the household buying, and has money and property of his own in the form of cattle.

882 562 At about this time the child becomes fully aware of a third guiding principle in Papago life. From infancy he has known that little children must be kept happy. As he grew older, he had his first taste of the responsibilities and privileges of the authority that comes with age. He now becomes fully aware that in most matters the male is superior to the female.

This notion is not new to the child. Between five and ten the Papago boy has been much freer to roam away from home than has his sister. Children know that their mothers go nowhere outside the village without being escorted by a man and that most of the money in the family is in the men's hands. They also may have noticed, at Magdalena and elsewhere, the futility of their mother's concern over their father's drunkenness.

4: Joseph et al. D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

At adolescence, however, the general dominance of the male becomes very clear. Though a young man's authority may be held in check by the seniority rule, boys are free to come and go as they please when their help is not needed in farming or herding, and they may begin to work for wages. They expect their sisters and the other women of the household to feed them and keep their clothes clean for them at home.

Adult women have much less control over a boy when he reaches adolescence. He is sometimes asked—never commanded—to do some household chore which requires strength, but his compliance is regarded as a favor. He associates almost completely with men or boys his own age; women no longer have much to say about where he goes and how he conducts himself, whether or not he should go drinking or courting. His mother and grandmother may lecture or try to persuade him, but he will not necessarily do as they wish unless the father or grandfather backs them up. Yet the boy has affection and respect for his mother and grandmother, and their influence, though perhaps indirect, is strong.

At home the adolescent girl joins freely in conversation with her brothers and other male relatives. She understands that a woman's duties include supplying men with meals and clean clothes, and these tasks she expects to do unassisted should the occasion arise. She depends on the men to take her to town or to fiestas; she considers them kind and generous if they do, and she hopes that her future husband will be as good to her. But a girl does not complain if the men make five trips to her one; because they are men, that is to be expected. She is respectful to her father and grandfather and affectionate as well, though demonstrating this affection would be thought in bad taste. With all the men of the household the girl is completely casual, although she would not leave the environs with any of them unless another woman were with her.

Even the newly acquired rights of boys and girls increase their responsibility to the family. By the time the Papago child is adolescent and can make more decisions for himself, he is conditioned to make these decisions not in terms of his own desires alone but in terms of the welfare of the whole household. If his judgments are unwise, his elders' question, "What will people think?" does not mean "think of you" but "think of us all." He is constantly reminded of his role as a member of a functioning family unit.

THE GIRL BECOMES A WOMAN

In the old days the Papago girl during one period in her life was the center of family interest and activity. This was at the time of her first menstruation, which signalized her readiness for marriage. During this time the girl was

883 The adolescent boy is always casual and friendly with the women of the household. When the men are at home, they join the women working under the ramada, and everyone participates in the chatter and joking that ensues. Though most of the time the youth is away from his female relatives, he often stops at the house cluster for a few minutes during the day, bringing the women news of their men and any local gossip he has picked up. He occasionally lifts a heavy article for them or is helpful in some other way but is no longer expected to make himself generally useful around the house.

Outside the household the teen-age boy's most intimate associates are lads of his own age, but he is not limited to boys of his own village, for in herding or at the intervillage roundups he always meets and works with youths from other communities. It is not difficult to maintain these friendships, as a boy can usually catch a ride to another village or go on his own horse.

883 533 Many Papago boys of this age learn to play musical instruments, usually the violin or guitar. They play entirely by ear, learning the Mexican and American dance tunes from phonograph records. Two or three lads may spend many hours practicing together; the others always enjoy listening. Rarely does a boy under eighteen become proficient enough to play in the orchestra at a fiesta, except as a drummer, but, if he is an unusually good musician, he may replace a violinist or guitarist while the older man rests or eats.

883 527 292 Fiestas are great occasions for adolescent boys. They help to clean and decorate the dance ground and feast house. They keep the fires going and spread hot coals near the women's benches. For the celebration they dress in colorful cowboy clothes: freshly polished high-heeled boots, wide-brimmed hats, new jeans, bright silk shirts, and often leather belts or wristguards studded with colored glass.

882 527 273 The boys take no part in the religious phase of the fiesta, nor do they enter the church for rest as the girls of their age do. As they are too young to associate freely with men, but yet feel themselves much too grown up to stay with the women or play with small boys, the lads usually stand about the big fires and sometimes loiter around the parked cars where the bootleggers do business. It is not uncommon for boys as young as sixteen to have whiskey at a fiesta, but ordinarily they do much less drinking than the men. Some of the boys cannot afford expensive bootleg whiskey, and others are still under the influence of their mothers and grandmothers, who dread heavy drinking. [276] At any rate, few teen-age boys are involved in drunken fighting. Boys smoke openly and without fear of reprimand as soon as they have money for cigarettes.

883 The boys do not dance so constantly as the girls of their age, for they never

[Text continues on p. 156-Analyst]